I: von Schwarz--15a N-5 (ca 1895) 1900 KL1 Turkestan KL1

361
366

Fig. 57. Sart saddlers at the bazaar in Tashkent.

352

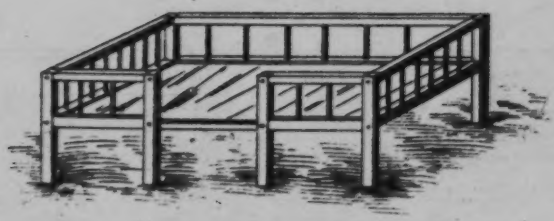


Fig. 58. Wooden platform.

grating is put together, are not simply set in crosswise, but are inter- 342
twined in more or less complicated ways into arabesques. One of the
simplest forms of this window grating is that shown in Figure 88. P.71a
The basic form of the alabaster grating is often an imitation of the wooden
grating. During the winter these window gratings are often covered
with white cigarette paper or with writing paper treated with oil to
keep out the draughts of air. The interior of the dwellings is almost
always veiled in half darkness because of the lack of windows, and
the /239/ wide projecting roofs of the verandas; and when the door
wings are open one can read or do close work right next to the door
(cf. Figure 72, p. 201, and Figure 79, p. 223). /Figure 88. Caption: P.41a P.58a P.71a
Window Grating of Turkestan./

Just inside the main entrance of the living quarters is a square
recess which serves as a washing and bathing place, a place where
one can pour water, and for the removal of overshoes.

The floor of the room consists simply of clay, and is always [352].
covered with a plain reed mat or felt covering, depending on the
financial means of the owner, or with a greater or smaller number
of costly carpets.

For ventilation there is an opening in the roof in which a short
cylindrical pipe of burned clay is placed. Since rain and snow can
enter unhindered through this opening, the ventilation openings are
often found also in the sides of the walls just under the roof.

Room furniture in the dwellings of the Central Asians is either 352
completely absent or is found in very small quantity. They have no 342
idea of tables, chairs, couches and our many cupboards and chests
of drawers. In place of our clothing and kitchen cupboards and
chests of drawers, in Turkestan various niches are fixed in the walls
for this purpose, occupying all four walls of the room as a rule. These
niches are either simple recesses in the walls, like our blind windows,
or they are partitions made artistically of alabaster, as can be seen
in Figure 123. These niches serve for the hanging up of clothes and
underwear and for the storage of dinner plates, wash basins, water
pitchers and teapots, water pipes, candlesticks, preserves and food,
occasional books, and the like. As for real furniture, the natives of
Turkestan are only acquainted with bedsteads, cradles, chests, and
the small low table already mentioned for the coal pan.

The poorer population and also a good part of the rich simply 513
sleep on the floor. A blanket serves as a bed, over which one or more
quilted cotton covers are spread, depending on what can be afforded.

513 A quilted cotton cover serves likewise as a top covering but it is of finer material than the one underneath. Quilted covers of silk and silk mixed with cotton are not rare. They are usually about two meters square, so that at times of extreme /240/ cold they can be wrapped all the way around. On my journeys I have camped in the open under such covers, sometimes in a cold of 20° to 30° centigrade, and have been quite comfortable. The natives do not know of sheets; as a result the bed covers, which cannot be washed because of their quilting, leave much to be desired as regards cleanliness after being used for some time. During the day the bed covers are rolled up together and stacked up along the walls with the pillows. For pillows they use cylinders stuffed with cotton and covered with silk or cotton material, similar to our window cushions, which are definitely preferable according to my experience to the feather head pillows used in Europe for they are not only more hygienic but also more comfortable. Only the very rich allow themselves the luxury of bedsteads.

[352] The bedsteads in Turkestan, the arrangement of which may be seen in Figure 89, P 739 in spite of their simplicity are the most suitable I have ever seen, and no improvement of our bedsteads, no matter how refined, can compete with them. They combine the advantages of ordinary bedsteads with those of American hammocks and can satisfy the demands of the most pampered sybarite. I have grown so spoiled by using Turkestan bedsteads over many years, that even now I have not yet been able to reconcile myself to the European bed. The bedsteads of Turkestan consist of a wooden frame joined together from a rough beam about ten centimeters thick, resting on four turned legs each about half a meter high, and this frame is covered by a net of thin strings made of horsehair. The bedsteads are something over two meters long and from one to one and a half meters wide. When such a framework is covered with a half dozen soft quilted cotton covers, it affords the greatest comfort imaginable. The body assumes its most comfortable position, thanks to the elasticity of the horsehair net, and one can stretch out on all sides without hindrance and without ever feeling the slightest pressure. If one is contented with a single cover during the hot season, one has a cool bed and need not suffer under the unbearable and unwholsome heat which the European featherbeds produce.

354 The cradles are portable, with a frame covered with a fly net of transparent gauze material, which serves as well for rocking as for carrying the infants. Their arrangement makes one think of a bird cage or of the frames used in Munich for the carrying of large numbers of beermugs (Figure 90; P 739 cf. also Figure 157). The heads

and feet of these cradles are made of two wooden hoops bent in the 854
form of semicircles, which are bound together by several horizontal
wooden mouldings usually turned and painted in bright colors. /241/
The bottom and the low sidewalls are made of thin boards or shavings.
The mothers carry their infants not wrapped up in swaddling clothes as
we do but in these portable cradles, which is not only more convenient
for the mothers but decidedly more favorable to the development of
the child than our methods are. For rocking, the cradle is hung on the
branch of a tree outdoors, or in a room or on the veranda on a ceiling
beam, by means of a rope fastened to the middle of the upper cross-
piece. /Figure 89. Caption: Turkestan Bedstead./ In this cradle, [141]
which is in use among all Central Asians, the children lie continually
on their backs, and as a consequence the back of the head becomes
very much flattened eventually. The noticeable brachycephaly of all [171]
Central Asians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Sarts, Tadzhiks, Galchas, etc. goes
back to this. Therefore the cephalic index is not a physical anthropo-
logical index as the physical anthropologists believe, but an ethnogra-
phic one. /Figure 90. Caption: Child's cradle in Turkestan./

For the storage of their valuables the urban people of Turkestan 352
use the same wooden boxes imported from Russia, as the nomads use.
These are painted red and green and mounted with sheet-iron and are
a primary adornment of the living quarters.

In addition to the furnishings already mentioned, in the dwellings 415
of the sedentary population of Turkestan, there remain to be mentioned
only the characteristic teapots and teacups, the washbasins, the brass
plates, the water pipes and the bird cages.

The teapots (Figure 91, p. 242) are made either of brass or
tin-plated copper, are always encased more or less artistically, and
have the same shape as the water pitchers and wine pitchers used dur-
ing mass in the Catholic church. These teapots are filled with water [272]
and set on the fire and after the water comes to a boil a proportionate
quantity of tea is thrown in. The teacups are either of clay, and thus
of domestic manufacture, or else of real or imitation porcelain from
China (Figure 123).
/242/ /Figure 91. Caption: Teapots./

The shape of the native washbasins is characteristic. These are
used before and after every meal and also often during the day, and are,
as a rule, of good and ornamental workmanship. They are likewise
made of brass or tin-plated copper and consist of a shallow basin with
a sieve-like perforated bottom, under which a vessel like a chamber
pot is attached to catch the dirty water from washing. Brass pitchers

352

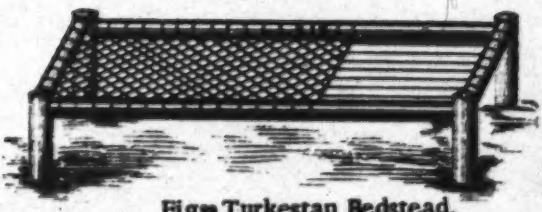


Fig.352. Turkestan Bedstead.

854

Fig.354. Child's cradle in Turkestan.

415 with long pouring spouts are used to pour out the water for the washing. These washbasins with the water pitchers which accompany them are sometimes made very luxuriously, as show pieces; in Bukhara I was once offered a fine specimen which was gold plated, with beautiful chased work and set with many semi-precious stones, for which the maker asked 300 marks (Figure 92). P 75 &

Porcelain plates have come into use in Turkestan only in recent times through the Russians. Until that time the natives had only relatively large round plates, quite shallow, with small almost perpendicular rims, similar to our serving plates. These are made of brass or tin-plated copper, are sometimes nearly a meter in diameter and are used only for the serving of fruit, sweetmeats and the countless cups and basins which are carried in all at once for the accomodation of distinguished guests.

276 The (tobacco) waterpipes, which are inevitable in every Turkestan household are called chilim by the Sarts and Uzbeks, and kalyan by the Tajiks, and differ from the water pipes of Turkey. They consist of a hollowed-out gourd container in which reeds are placed at both the top and on one side. The reed at the side serves as the mouthpiece, and the vertical reed for the attachment of the bowl of the pipe, /243/ which consists of burnt clay either unglazed, or glazed in blue or green. In the upper part of the water pipe a small hole is bored on the side. This serves to blow out the smoke during the kindling of the coals which are laid on top of the tobacco, and it must be held shut with the finger during the actual smoking. The poor use the pipe in this simplest form; richer people, on the contrary, sheathe the brown-stained body of the pipe with bronze and decorate the mounting with chased work and mounted turquoises; then they provide the reeds with burnt-in decorations and cover the bowl of the pipe with strings of beads and semi-precious stones, so that this kind of apparatus finally acquires a pleasing appearance. In rare cases the body of the water pipe is made entirely of brass; but even in such cases the vessel always has the shape of a gourd container (cf. Figure 105, 118 and 123).

352 [623] Finally, an article of furniture which is missing in only a few households is the bird cage, for the natives are great bird lovers. The bird cages are made in the same artless fashion as almost all the products of native industry. They consist of a simple round wooden or cardboard box without a lid (discarded Russian hatboxes are often used for this purpose) on which a pointed dome-shaped net is placed made of many-colored cotton yarn. This is held tight by the weight of the box

when it is hung up on the ceiling of the room or veranda or on a tree branch. /Figure 92, p. 175a Caption: Washing Utensils./ 352

/244/ If we add to what has already been mentioned a number of tambourines and various instruments, then we have accounted for practically everything which is to be found among the furnishings of a dwelling of a prosperous native. In the dwellings of the poor most of the objects mentioned are missing, and the whole set of furniture for them is reduced to a water pitcher, a water pipe of the simplest kind, some earthenware basins and reed mats and some bed covers full of holes, richly stained and shining with dirt. [534]

This relatively simple arrangement and equipment of the dwellings is primarily due to the fact that it is intended for the residence of the occupants only during the short winter. Otherwise it serves only as a storage place for the movable property of the owner, who lives for the greater part of the year above all in the courts or in the gardens and also sleeps in the open. The veranda is much more important for the Central Asian than the living quarters, for on the veranda, winter and summer, he carries on his household tasks, if he has any, talks with his neighbors and acquaintances, takes his meals and the like. Thus the veranda cannot be omitted even in the dwelling of the poorest person. This is a covered colonnade, raised somewhat above the level of the court, and attached to the living quarters (Figure 93). The roof of the veranda forms the continuation of the roof of the living quarters and is supported on the outer side by a series of wooden columns, made either of completely rough and unhewn beams or else carved more or less artistically. Among the richer people the floor of this colonnade is covered with blankets or carpets, and among the poorer people it is covered with reed mats (cf. also Figure 57, p. 165, and Figure 85, p. 233). 342 [512] p. 172a p. 67a

There are no real kitchens in the houses of the natives. The fireplace is simply established in the court in the summer, while in the winter it is in the middle of the living room. The only cooking utensil, in which practically all the native dishes are prepared, consists, as among the nomads, of a cast iron kettle. This varies in size, is imported from Russia, and resembles those used by our washwomen. This kettle is either placed over a trench dug in the ground, or on a semicircular elevation made of clay. For the roasting of small pieces of meat, called shashlik, they use a wooden skewer which is held with the hand alone over the fire on top of the ground. There are no further utensils in the kitchen of a Turkestan household. 252 415

[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 71-75 -- Analysis]

287 finest examples of this kind are those made by
531 the Yomuds; they are pentagonal in shape, and are ornamented with long black fringes. From the point of view of ethnology the most interesting fabric of this kind is a strip about forty or forty-five feet long and not more than about fourteen inches wide. Such strips are called daur-i-khirgah, and are passed right round the tent. They are covered with pictorial scenes or patterns made up of conventionalized landscapes or trees, all worked on a white ground according to the knot-technique. The figural scenes show caravans on the march, laden and grazing camels, horsemen, and other scenes from the daily life of the Turkomans. It is possible that certain events from the history of the tribe or clan are represented there. Religious or magic elements may also be discerned in these friezes. Essentially similar figures are found among primitive or semi-civilized peoples all over the world, executed in the style predominant in the respective areas.

531 In the tent of the Turkomans, as in the
352 dwellings of all Islamic peoples, the floor-carpet is one of the most important items. It is very likely that the Turkomans made no distinction between ordinary rugs and prayer mats, as their carpets had no pictorial patterns, and did not, therefore, run counter to Islamic law. One very common type of rug, patterned, strangely enough, with almost cruciform figures and claw-shaped ornaments interspersed with them, certainly served both as a floor-covering and a prayer-mat. Pillows and cushions on which the Turkoman rests his arms when seated are never made in knot-technique, but always covered with cloth.

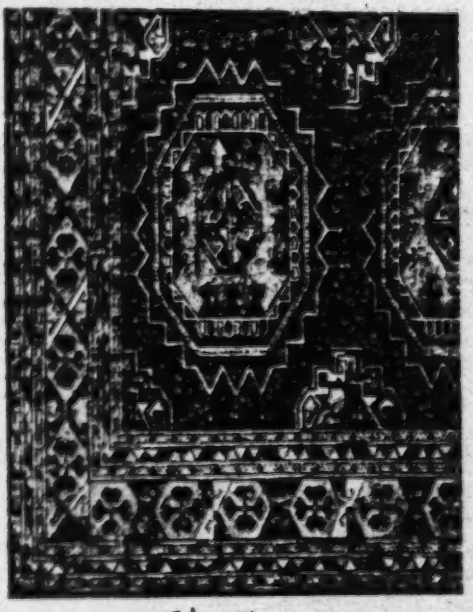
415 The fronts of the various bags and pouches which the Turkomans use as receptacles for everything, even for butter and cheese, are al-

415 ways knotted like carpets (see ill. p. 1461). Of these there are three principal kinds, the juval, a large camel-bag about five feet long and three feet wide, the somewhat smaller torba, and the karjin, which is carried on donkey-back. Whereas the juval and the torba, which are slung on either side of the camel, are always made in pairs, the karjin is a double pouch which is flung over the donkey's back, so that a bag hangs down on either side. These various receptacles, which take the place of cupboards or boxes, and which are used both on the march and in camp, may justly be described as textile furniture, no less so than the floor-carpet which serves the Islamic peoples both as a seat and as a bed. Turkoman carpets are distinguished from all others by their simple but vigorous beauty. All their patterns are geometrical, pictorial designs do not occur. The elements of the patterns are grouped in straight lines and at angles. Curves and circles are entirely foreign to the Turkoman style. Red, the favourite colour for women's dress, is also predominant in the carpets. All other colours are no more than accessories to red, the shade of which varies from deep purple to scarlet.

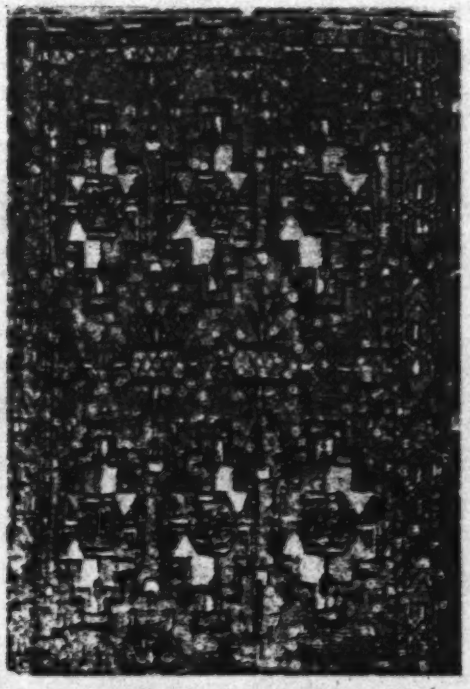
This uniformity is not only the result of a peculiar sense of style, but is also to be ex-

[Cat. 116, p. 78 -- Analyst]

The characteristic octagon preferred by the Salor Turkomans for their textile fabrics.



287
531



The jagged octagon, the figure found on all knotted work of the Tekke Turkomans.

287 plained by the strongly developed organiza-
531 tion of the Turkoman peoples. It is based on
186 a long tradition which is strictly observed. There are only a limited number of patterns for knotted work, each of which is the property and the distinctive badge of a certain tribe. The scope for variation is very limited, and deliberate artistic innovations do not occur. The probable reason for this is the fact that the Turkomans take a pride in proclaiming their membership of a certain tribe from afar, by the patterns of their camel-pouches when on the march, and by those of their tent-flaps when in camp. In principle this custom is not unlike that of the Scottish Highlanders to proclaim to which clan they belong by displaying its tartan in kilt and plaid.

287 In Europe Turkoman carpets—and the
531 fronts of the camel-bags, which are sold sepa-
352 rately as rugs—usually go under the name of Bokhara, though not one of them was ever knotted there. In Bokhara a variation of a Persian design was used for ornamenting carpets. The name for Turkoman carpets current in the Indian carpet-trade indicates the region of Merv as their place of origin. That is correct

352
287
531
[462]

in so far as the best known kinds are made by the women of the Tekke Turkomans, whose pastures are in the Merv area. Incidentally, all Turkoman carpets are made exclusively by women. Typical of the rugs of Merv is an octagonal star which is checkered red and white; the octagon is divided into four parts, each of which is in a colour contrasting to that of the adjacent part. The figures which fill the octagon are very simple and severely geometrical in style. The octagons are dispersed over the surface in even rows (see ill. p. 1459). The rugs of the Tekkes found their way to the West in large quantities; they are very popular, and have often been imitated.

The women of the Saryk tribe, which lives southward from Merv to the Afghan frontier, also use octagons as patterns, and arrange them in a manner similar to that of the Tekke rugs. There is, however, a difference in so far as the edges of these figures are not jagged. The rugs made in the southermost part of this area, known as Punjdeh (five towns), have a style of their own. They avoid red altogether, and are distinguished by a very finely graded scale of colours, in which brown and black predominate, yellow and white being used very sparingly. These dark colours form a marked contrast to the brilliant tints of all other Turkoman rugs. They correspond to the natural colour of the wool or hair used in making all Turkoman rugs. And even though these colours are often obtained artificially by dyeing, the origin of the colour scheme is doubt-

* [See p. 72--Analyst]

287 less to be sought in the use of undyed wool. The western neighbours of the Saryks are the
531 Salors. They, too, use the octagon as the sole
352 ornament of their knotted rugs; it is filled with hook-shaped figures on an undivided ground of even red (see ill. page 1459).

Of entirely different pattern are the rugs of the northermost Turkoman tribe, the Yomuds. They prefer scalloped figures and rows of hooks. Instead of octagons, lozenges form the ground of their rugs (see ill. page 1461).

In addition to these principal motives a number of minor ones are used, none of which are, however, of importance for the distinction of the various kinds of Turkoman rugs. Attempts have been made on more than one occasion to put some symbolic interpretation on these figures. That may be justified to a certain extent, but there can be no doubt that for some centuries at least the Turkomans have been as unconscious of the symbolic significance of these elements of designs as the Persian carpet-knotters are of that of the Buddhist symbols which they use as decorative elements. The intellectual and religious life of the early Turk peoples is far too little known to permit of anything more than surmise in this respect. Moreover, Turkestan has in the last few centuries been less accessible to foreigners that in Marco Polo's day.

287 The Turkoman rugs of the best period are so closely knotted that they must from a technical point of view be classed among the best Oriental carpets. Really good rugs

1 [see cat. 116, p. 71 -- Analyst]
74
2 [see cat. 116, p. 78 -- Analyst]

386 rials such as pyrites were used, which had the effect of corroding the wool, so that the black parts of many otherwise good rugs give the impression of having been eaten away. In spite of the limited selection of colours the shades and the number of combinations are surprisingly
287 varied. The Turkomans are good observers,
531 and were not slow in making use of the fact that the colours varied with the time of the year at which the plants were gathered, or with the length of time during which they were allowed to boil, to ferment, or to be exposed to the rays of the sun. For that reason the simplicity which characterizes these rugs is never monotonous. Both technically and artistically they are the perfect expression of that form of life which ethnologists describe as nomadic. They fulfil all the requirements of daily use, and the patterns are designed and perpetuated by skilled workers of a tribe, whose members all live under precisely the same geographical and social conditions.

287 These connections between the knotting
352 technique and nomad life are so striking that one feels tempted to regard the craft as an invention of wandering tribes. For the town-dwellers of Persia and India, of Egypt and Asia Minor, who developed the craft of carpet-knotting into an art, the necessity to use such light and easily transportable »textile furniture« is not nearly so great, and it is but natural that they should have adopted the

287 technique primarily for the making of floor-
352 coverings. The fact that Sir Aurel Stein discovered fragments of pile rugs during his excavations of the stations along the ancient silk road through Eastern Turkestan, distinctly points to the origin of the technique among the nomads of Central Asia. Apart from that, nothing certain is known of the origin and development of the different kinds of Turkoman rugs. Some examples may date back to the early eighteenth century. That is, however, no more than surmise, probable though
287 it may be. The one established fact is that all
178 the good examples of the craft now in existence must have been made before the seventies of the last century, that is to say, before the conquest of the country by the Russians. The reason for this is the complete transformation of the life of the Turkoman tribes under Russian rule. As the Russians put an end to the activities of the Turkomans as caravan robbers and slave traders, they were obliged to cast about for some other means of livelihood. From that time on the burden of providing a substitute for the gains formerly achieved by robbery fell to the women, whose skill in carpet-knotting was exploited. Carpets of huge size were made for the palaces of Russian nobles and generals. In time the desire to execute these profitable orders as speedily as possible led to a decline in the great care formerly exercised in the making of Turkoman rugs.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl

The same principle[1] applies to housing and furniture. The natives adopt freely and widely articles of utility, such as kerosene lamps, samovars, and iron stoves. But they resist efforts of the authorities to introduce chairs, tables, and bedsteads, which to them seem quite unnecessary. "Not only those collective farm families sleep on the floor which as yet have no bedsteads," writes a recent Soviet observer of conditions in the Kirghiz republic. "Sometimes a purchased bedstead, instead of being used for its purpose, stands all made up as a decoration, while the family continues sleeping on the floor."[5] Even the most Westernized Muslim intelligentsia in the cities demonstrate a desire to preserve a link with tradition by decorating a single room of an otherwise Western-style apartment in the native manner.

House construction among the old settled groups of the population seems to follow traditional lines, with minor innovations, such as the use of whitewash for the walls and floors. Among the recently settled nomads, whom the Soviet regime wishes to have acquire permanent buildings, a curious compromise has been attained: the natives spend one part of their time in the permanent structures and another part in the traditional yurt (nomadic tent) erected alongside the houses. On the whole, one gains the impression that among the Turkic groups which had been settled during and since the period of collectivization, the yurt continues to prevail, while in the mountains it is still the exclusive shelter of native inhabitants.

The general picture which emerges from a survey of native customs indicates that they are adhered to far more loyally than are religious traditions. The causes for this are threefold. In the first place, a considerable part of the native population of Central Asia was only superficially affected by Islam, while remaining loyal to local traditions. In the second place, national traditions are on the whole not contrary to the spirit of Westernization, and can in most cases be well adapted to the demands of a secular, utilitarian society. And, finally, the Soviet regime treats local customs far more gingerly than religion, trying to destroy them more through example and infiltration than through outright suppression. The native population clings to its customs, surrendering them only when they are utterly incompatible with material progress of society, and when it does modify traditions, it tries to synthesize the innovations with tradition. The native may be persuaded that it is a good thing to possess an iron bedstead, but often he cannot be convinced that sleeping on a bed is preferable to sleeping on the floor. Similarly, he may agree that eating by fork and spoon is hygenically preferable to eating by hand, but he refuses to agree that pork and potatoes are superior to lamb and rice. This attitude gives native customs a considerable resiliency to external pressures.

[5] S. M. Abramzon, *Ocherki kul'tury kirgizskogo naroda* (Frunze, 1946), p. 75. Abramzon's book supplies interesting data on the culture of the Kirghiz in the post-World War II era, much of which supports the conclusions derived from interviews with refugees.

[1] [i.e., the discarding of traditions for no reasons other than utility -- ANALYST]

342 In the walls there are many niches of various sizes, decorated with arabesques and sometimes with a painting of a flower, without perspective. The depiction of animals or humans is strictly forbidden by the Koran. In addition to this, the rich decorate the ceilings with bright colors and make their windows, if not of glass, at least with decorated wooden or plaster lattices. The floors of the houses are either of earth or paved with flat square fire brick.

Sart houses and the old clay partitions, which always have many cracks, are inhabited [136] by 'falanga' (a kind of poisonous spider) and scorpions. The sting of the falanga, if precautionary measures are not observed, can be very painful and can sometimes be fatal.

The living quarters are divided into two halves: the men's and the women's (the harem). Usually below the harem there is another deeper courtyard.

352 /390/ There is no furniture. The furnishing of the rooms consists of Russian chests sometimes covered by rugs. The rich also cover their floors with rugs or carpets 354 without nap (palas). They do not make stoves. In order to keep warm in winter, they put hot coals in a hollowed out place in the middle of the room, or simply into a clay vessel (pan), and over this they put a stool. The stool is covered with a blanket and its ends touch the ground. Then the Sart sits or lies around the heater and covers his feet with the blanket.

341 In their construction they use neither a level nor a plumb line, so that all the